1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

302 114 765 Further, it is necessary to correct some errors that have crept into the literature concerning Timbira hairdressing. Notwithstanding assertions by Kissenberth and Snethlage,[300] who oddly agree on this, the Canella never cut their hair in mourning; the exact contrary holds, as demonstrated in plate 7, *b*. Moreover, as proved by dozens of my pictures, women and children dress the hair in exactly the same fashion as the men; Snethlage thus errs in declaring that they merely comb their hair away from the face or cut it above the forehead. Oil paintings by the Dutch artist Eckhout which are in the National Museum of Copenhagen suggest that the Otahukayana of Rio Grande do Norte also wore the hair furrow in the seventeenth century. (See pl. 21.) The occipital hair of the Timbira is never braided into a pigtail; [301] a little grass fanlike ornament (hivakúi) (pl. 20, *b*) merely serves to ligature the bunch of occipital hair. A person with very long hair may gather it together, lay the tip up on the back of the head, and secure it there with string. However, this custom—like the use of the hivakúi—is peculiar to men about to engage in a particularly difficult undertaking—formerly, above all when going to battle; and as soon as anyone is seen indulging in the practice he is immediately questioned by everybody as to his plans.

302 462 177 No man's hair is cut by another. The task devolves primarily on his mother, his sisters, female cousins and nieces; his wife may tend to the matter provided it is not a ceremonial cut at the close of a period of mourning or seclusion. Because of this rule men who have been away for a long time have the furrow completely obliterated by the new growth of hair. On their begging trips, however, they usually fall into the hands of some civilized barber who spoils their coiffure for the period of several months.

302 No attention is paid to the clipped hair, which they either allow to lie about or throw on the garbage, for the Eastern Timbira and the Apinayé do not share the widespread Indian belief that fragments severed from the body can be used in sorcery. On the other hand, the Rąmkõ'kamekra believe that a person who has secured [832] another's hair from the temples thereby is certain of being loved by him or her, for which reason such hair is sometimes clipped clandestinely. The hair cut from women's occiputs at certain festivals is united in a long bundle and hung on a tree in front of the village, whence I was able to carry it off at will. Several times I received the present of a neck-and-forehead ornament consisting of hair tufts mounted brushlike in feather quills or small bamboo tubes.

[804] 303 177 321 The Canella have double combs (koikê) composed of little rods (pl. 20, *a*), but today they serve only ceremonial purposes; a norm based on the length of the rods is used in the manufacturing. For practical purposes these combs have been superseded by those of European and Neobrazilian make, but several men, for example, chief Ropką', are themselves able to produce such modern combs out of horn, and these prove far more durable than the purchased articles, which very soon lose their tines in the thick Indian hair.

302 303 562 The people pay a fair amount of attention to their hair. They wash it while bathing by rubbing it between the palms of their hands, and oil it with the oleaginous juice of chewed babassu seeds, which is spat into their hands and then rubbed on the hair. The very greasy beetle larvae that live within the seeds are crushed between the palms and then also used for oiling the hair. Head lice (ikó) occur, especially among children, but have long ceased to be general. I am positive that a considerable number of adults lack them. Anyone becoming aware of lice has his wife or some kinswoman look for them; this person puts them on the palm of her hands

[300] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 48. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 148.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

not crave these larvae so passionately as many Guaraní, let alone Kaingang, who fill thick bamboo tubes with them. I have never seen Timbira eating grasshoppers, ants, or any other insects besides those mentioned above.

Weapons.—The principal Timbira weapon is the bow, kuhẽ′ (pl. 15, *b*) nowadays receding with the spread of muzzle-loaders, but still predominantly used even by the Rąmkõ′kamekra, who own probably more firearms than the other steppe Timbira. The bow is of pau d'arco (*Tecoma* sp.), more rarely of piquiá (*Caryocar* sp.), or pau rôxo wood. Its size diminishes with its importance in warfare and hunting. Among the Western Gaviões, who lack guns and still guard their woods with the bow, it attains the enormous length of 254 cm.; the private collection of Estevão de Oliveira contains a specimen. These bows thus rank third for length among the South American types known to me, being surpassed only by the equivalents from the Bakairí of the Xingú headwaters and from the Kaingang of São Paulo. The "Bugre" (Botocudo of Sta. Catharina) bows pronounced as the longest by Krickeberg[35] are thus far inferior, being only 230 cm. long; and so far as my experience goes those of the Sirionó of lower Bolivia, to which some assign the first place, never exceed 216 cm. The maximum measurements among the Eastern Gaviões (Pųkóbye), Krĩkatí, Krahõ′, and Rąmkõ′kamekra) are, respectively: 192, 191, 188, 183 cm.[36]

Common as is a round cross section among the Krahõ′, it is limited to the toy bows of little boys among the Rąmkõ′kamekra, and these may also be elliptical. Otherwise the Timbira—the Kre'pų′mkateye less than the rest—uniformly flatten the string side; a ceremonial Rąmkõ′kamekra specimen has approximately oval cross section.

The tip of the Rąmkõ′kamekra bow, around which they wind the taut end of the string, generally, though not always, has for its support a pad of cordage (pl. 15, *c*). Among the other tribes the tip is slightly set off on the outside. To produce tension they loosen the corded loop from the other end, shorten the string by vigorous twisting, bend the bow with the knee, and push the end again over the rather blunt tip. The bowstring, kuhẽ̃ẽ̃, is of tucum fiber; I have not seen the cotton form ascribed by Snethlage to "the northern tribes."

The hunting arrows of the Timbira are of camayuva cane (*Guadua* sp.) and generally as long as the bow or but slightly shorter (pl. 16, *f*). Solely the Western Gaviões, who require arrows corresponding in length to their gigantic bows, use only canna braba (*Gynerium saccharoides*), obviously because the thickness of the camayuva cane is not proportionate to the requisite length. This tribe tips arrows with huge, two-edged, unserrated bamboo points up to 35 cm. long and 4 cm. wide, which are glued and tied to a wooden foreshaft. Others have a dentate wooden point. Among the other Eastern Timbira I was too late to see arrows with bamboo knives, which are presumably above all for use in warfare. The typical arrow of the Eastern Timbira (like the Apinayé and Šerénte form) altogether lacks a specially mounted point, the end of the camayuva shaft being itself shaped into a point by unilateral beveling. This is the customary hunting arrow of all steppe Timbira, not (as Snethlage states) a mere weapon for practice. The Krĩkatí, Pųkóbye, Kre'pų′mkateye, and Rąmkõ′kamekra have arrows with an inserted wooden foreshaft supporting a flat bone tip, which is put on so that there is a laterally projecting blunt barb (pl. 16, *g*). The last-named people more frequently substitute for the bone point one of iron wire (pl. 16, *h*) or a little barblike rod of hard wood

[35] In Buschan, Illustrierte Völkerkunde, 283, 284.

[36] Wied-Neuwied, Reise, v. 2, 23, found a "Patachos" bow "8 Fuss 9½ Zoll englisch." *Editor.*

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

411 I noted arrows headed with hollow bones (hõ'kóp) and with flat iron points (kro-
● 321 wakõwakj') among the Kre'pų'mkateye and Pųkóbye; the former type occasionally
322 turns up also among the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

In addition to the foregoing, all steppe Timbira have arrows with smooth wooden heads, as well as with a cross of two pairs of little sticks tied on so that the point projects only a little. The latter type, which serves for hunting birds, is borrowed from the Guajajára, as witnessed by the native term, prỹĩkakót (Guajajára bird-
[177] arrow). The bird-arrows of half-grown boys are topped either with a ball of burity bast fiber (pl. 16, *e*) or a segment of a kerneled corncob; or the point may consist of the thickened knoblike root end of the arrowshaft itself (pl. 16, *d*).

All Timbira arrows have tangential bridge feathering (pl. 16, *j*). The feathers
411 are tied with cotton string, while the place for inserting the wooden foreshaft of
171 the arrow is mostly wrapped with black guambé (*Philodendron* sp.) bark. From
[137] an old Indian of the Čą'kamekra tribe now merged in the Rąmkõ'kamekra population. I obtained arrows with gynerium shaft and radial sewed feathering (pl. 16, *k*). His neat and competent execution proved thorough familiarity with the rather difficult technique, not a mere attempt at imitation. According to his statements the Čą'kamekra used both bridge and sewed feathering, the latter having been borrowed from the Gamella of Codó, who were destroyed in 1856. Both techniques are also traditionally ascribed to the Gamella of Vianna.[355]

Sewed feathering has for its criterion *attachment of the feathers with threads traversing the shaft by means of several transverse perforations* specially made for the purpose. It occurs in two discrete areas—in the central Matto Grosso and on both sides of the lower Tocantins. Most of the instances given by Schmidt,[356] on the other hand, do not properly fall under this head for lack of any perforation of the shaft.

Our first area, defined by Nordenskiöld,[357] embraces the Bororo, Bakairí (Carib), Yaulapití (Arawak), Trumaí (isolated), Huanyam (Čapakúra), the Tupí stock being represented by the Auetõ', Kamayurá and Kayabí. The existence of a second center was first established by Raymundo Lopes on the basis of literary sources. I am, however, in a position considerably to augment the list of these northern groups, which at present may be summarized as follows: 1, Urubú (Tupí); 2, Amanayé = Ararandeuára (Tupí); 3, Guajajára (rare—Tupí); 4, Parakanã (Tupí); 5, Asuriní (Tupí ?); 6, Arára (Carib); 7, Parirí (Carib); 8, Čą'kamekra (Gê); 9, Gamella of Codó (?); 10, Gamella of Vianna (isolated).

I cannot get rid of the impression that the people who spread this technique were of Tupí stock, though not of the Še branch of this family (Guaraní, Tupinambá). Of the eight Matto Grosso tribes, also, three are Tupí.

The end of the arrow is held with the right thumb and index finger, while the string is pulled with the index, middle and ring fingers. The shaft rests below the extended index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. The arrow is fitted to the string in horizontal position; in letting it fly the archer holds his bow in approximately vertical position. He aims in a straight line, making his shots random only when compelled by the greatness of the distance. Really indirect shots do not occur; I am unable to confirm Snethlage's relevant statement.[358] Given a suitable angle, a Timbira arrow flies about seventy meters, but some measure of certainty goes only with about half that distance.

[355] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 12.
[356] Schmidt, Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten, 1085 f.
[357] Nordenskiöld, Ethnography, 3:45, also map 4.
[358] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 158.